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to ensure his abstinence or take to theft to guarantee his honesty.

III.

But what Germany and the United States are doing, nearly every other nation is doing. They are crushing themselves with needless burdens; they are making the lives of the poor harder, and those of the rich more heartless; they are provoking rivalries that stir up and strengthen intolerance and animosities at home and abroad; they are so fearful of each other that they fall into war panics and absurd measures of safety; they are so trenching upon freedom to protect themselves from fancied perils that their governments are becoming more despotic and odious; they are, in a word, putting in jeopardy the achievements of civilization. To prepare for war is not, therefore, to preserve peace. The old maxim is wrong, and must be changed. To preserve peace is not to prepare for war. People truly civilized do not think how they can best fight and kill their neighbors; they think how they can best serve them and add to their happiness.

Dread of War in France.

BY JEAN CHARLEMAGNE BRACQ, PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AT VASSAR COLLEGE.

There is no psychological trait of the French people so marked now as their dread of war. This is emphatically true of the peasants, and it is perhaps their love of peace that has drawn them so rapidly toward the Liberals, the Radicals and the Socialists, who represent, in a most dogmatic manner, the pacific policy. It is a striking fact that during a third of a century no member of Parliament has dared to take up a belligerent program, not a minister has ventured to propose a war policy — even a war of revenge with Germany in the past or a war of conquest with Morocco now — as a thing to be desired. If we wish to know the ruling passion of the masses we have only to ascertain what demagogues promise them. So strong have been the pacific feelings of the lower classes that when the question has come up the professional politicians have always had peace as their watchword.

The fundamental conceptions of war have also greatly changed. There have always been — there are still — men to glorify war as an instrument of moral elevation, as a means of heroic culture. Formerly in popular oratory, the great theme was the beneficence of war, its lessons of sacrifice and of courage. Under the second empire teachers missed no opportunity to recall the victories of Napoleon I., the moral and economic benefits which followed. France has moved since then. Her historians have laid bare the harm done to their country and to those of others by international conflicts; economists have shown the cost of war, and sociologists have demonstrated that war deteriorates a nation devoted to it, that it eliminates the strongest and the bravest men, that it is fatal to the best interests of democracy, etc. Many military chiefs have been obliged to admit that the life of the barracks is far from uplifting. Under the strain of criticism some noble leaders, like General Gallieni, have endeavored to transform the soldier into a colonial pioneer, others have done much to improve the life of the soldiers, but the institution of the extensive standing army,

admitted generally as a necessary evil, is recognized, by at least the party in power, as a burden to be lessened by all available means, and war as a calamity of all calamities to be avoided. A movement so potent could not but call forth a reaction.

As Freethinkers, Protestants, Israelites and liberal Catholics were generally won to this new conception of war and of the army, it was natural that the Ultramontanes should, if not vindicate the old conception of war, at least gain the support of the army by posing as its champion. A noble spirit, the late Father Didau, superior of the Dominican school of Arcueil near Paris, on a very important occasion, with an eloquence worthy of a better cause, represented the soldier as the minister of divine Providence. Since then militant Catholics, and especially the orders, have been foremost in celebrating the virtues of militarism. They have encouraged the faithful among the nobility to enter the army. It follows that the greater part of the General Staff is from the higher classes and Catholic. This was a clever move enough had it been practical; but France has now the misfortune of having an army, the head of which is conservative, aristocratic and Catholic, while the body is in the main radical, democratic, and at best religiously indifferent. Hence a genuine contempt of officers for privates and a generous hatred of soldiers for their chiefs, some of whom have come to understand the purpose of their monastic friends. Recently some officers were riding past the pupils of the friars of Cambay. At once was heard the unanimous cry, "*Vive l'armée.*" One of the officers turned around and said, "Do not scream, '*Vive l'armée*' but '*Vive la France.*'" As was to be expected, French wits were not slow in finding a formula to express their contempt for this insincere admiration, and so called these religious reactionaries, "*Vive-larmistes*," a term which conveys an untranslatable sarcasm. The religious opposition, so unwise in its defense of the orders, has not succeeded any better in reviving the cult of militarism. On the other hand, the idea of peace, of arbitration, of reduction of armaments, of diminishing military burdens, is making its way with great rapidity, and has expressed itself in numerous organizations and congresses and has found a place in the political program of the party in power. The upholders of this movement are known as *pacifistes*.

It is quite fitting that there should be such an acceleration of progress of the pacific idea, for it was in France that the thought of the rational abolition of war was first expressed by the minister of Henri IV., Sully. Since then the Abbé de Saint Pierre, Mme. de Staël, Béranger, the St. Simonians, and Infantin in particular, were active workers for international peace. In 1849 there was held the Congress of Peace of Paris, in many ways the most successful one ever held. It was presided over by Victor Hugo, whose opening address was prophetic of the better days which now appear upon the horizon. Notwithstanding the unfriendliness of the second empire, a peace society was formed in Paris in 1867. Similar societies have been, and are still, organized with increasing rapidity. International congresses were held in 1889 and in 1900 in Paris. The Interparliamentary Conference was organized in the same city by M. Frederic Passy, the veteran worker for peace. The several peace societies hold annually a congress to give unity and force to their

efforts. The recent brilliant speech of M. Jaurès on behalf of better international relations is still in the memory of all. M. d'Estournelles de Constant succeeded in gathering around him a group of two hundred and fifty members of Parliament pledged to the cause of arbitration. A few weeks ago the advisability of referring all cases of international difficulties to arbitration was referred to eighty-seven *conseils-généraux*, departmental assemblies, and sixty of them reported as favorable. Only a few days before M. Combes, speaking at the dedication of the Renan monument, said that the government of the Republic was won over from the first "to the generous principle of international arbitration." The antagonists of this movement have done their utmost to chill the zeal of the *pacifistes*, but in vain. The movement of international comity is accelerated, not only in its wider relations, but also between France and individual nations. This is true of France and Italy, whose King is about to visit the French capital. This is also true of France and Spain, who are coming to a better understanding, and this is especially true of France and England. The visit of M. Loubet to England, that of M. d'Estournelles and his party of ninety members of the French Parliament, that of a French society, *Le Souvenir Normand*, are significant facts. An English lawyer, Mr. T. Barclay, has had great success in addressing meetings in England and in France. He has found the greatest readiness not only to coöperate with him on the subject of arbitration, but also on that of a treaty between France and England to settle all future difficulties by arbitration.

The general attitude of Frenchmen toward this great question has not been so well shown anywhere as at the meetings of the Twelfth International Congress of Peace held at Rouen and Havre from September 22 to September 27, inclusive — four days in the first city and two in the second. These cities were admirably suited for such a congress. Rouen, interesting by its picturesqueness, its historical associations, its quasi-worship of Joan of Arc, is infinitely more so by its philanthropic institutions, its labor unions and its peace societies. Hence the strong sympathy of its citizens for the Congress. The municipalities of Rouen and Havre did everything in their power to give it prestige. So many entertainments were planned that some delegates almost asked themselves if the whole was not a great festival, rather than a reunion of earnest workers to put a stop to the monstrous anachronism of our time, war. The formal opening meeting in Rouen was quite impressive, when in the old town hall the president said, "You have thought that from under these arches, which in by-gone days resounded with the songs of victory and the cries of hatred against foreigners, should ascend a harmonious concert where voices representing the nations that were but yesterday enemies should unite in singing the hymn of fraternity." The Prince of Monaco was then heard. After him M. Frederic Passy, the venerable economist and virtual leader of the *pacifistes*, held his audience spellbound, as, deeply moved, he showed what had been done in France. The Baroness von Suttner related the doings of the recent Interparliamentary Conference in Vienna, and stirred her audience by her impeachment of the massacres in Macedonia. General Türr, with the energy and fearlessness of an old warrior, spoke for Hungary. Herr Richter, from the German Reichstag, delivered a

most tactful address. He even ventured to say that if M. d'Estournelles were to take a party of French deputies to Berlin he would have as good a reception as in London. M. Novicow, the Russian sociologist, said that he was speaking "in the name of one hundred and sixty millions of mutes," but that Russia had done good things for the world, among which was that campaign concluded by the Treaty of San Stephano. Among others who were heard was M. Ducommun, who has shown such devotion and ability in making the International Peace Bureau of Berne what it is. Every speech was received with the applause and the "bravos" of *pacifistes*. In all great philanthropic conventions there must be some time devoted to the quasi-worship of the ideal, a moment when hopes and realities are a little too indiscriminately blended. Such was the first meeting.

It would be a mistake to think that the Congress devoted itself to mere platonic enunciation of principles; much of the work was eminently practical. It had been carefully prepared by three commissions which showed no little wisdom. The most significant feature of the Congress was the endorsement which it received from different countries of Europe, and especially from France. During the meetings telegrams and letters were constantly reaching the president. Organizations of women, associations of a philanthropic character, coöperative societies, syndicates of laborers, labor exchanges, religious associations were at every step giving their hearty support to the Congress. The delegates who attended the reception given at the Labor Exchange of Rouen were profoundly impressed by the enthusiasm of the workingmen for the cause of peace and their hatred of militarism.

Equally significant was the trip to Havre on board the "Gazelle." As the steamer started we heard on all sides "*Vive la paix*," an utterance repeated thousands of times on the arrival at Havre. Not to speak of an interesting meeting of the French and English delegates, at which they discussed the proposals of a treaty of arbitration between the two countries, the important meeting was the concluding one on Sunday afternoon. It was presided over by M. Trouillot, the Minister of Commerce. The largest hall of the city, at the Cercle Franklin, was crowded. Most of the foreign delegates were heard again. Some of the addresses were complimentary, though most of them touched the very soul of international peace. That of M. Trouillot had a ring of earnestness and sincerity which went to the heart. The burden of his discourse was that war lays as heavy a hand upon the victor as upon the vanquished. With a merciless hand he showed that war robs society of forces needed for her development. In a moment of great eloquence, he said, "If one thinks that for thirty years Europe has spent more than ten billions of francs a year to maintain the régime of armed peace, is not the mind confounded and saddened in reflecting upon what these three hundred billions would have accomplished had they been devoted to works of scientific, material, industrial and artistic progress!" Important and admirable as the speech was, the thing to be remembered is that the present French ministry wished to gain its approval to the work of peace. Altogether the Congress and the other manifestations of this movement show the rapid growth of the feeling that war is an international collective crime, harmful to all concerned; that a people that does not do all in its

power to prevent it by all rational and moral means is criminal; that the present armaments are not only burdensome, but they are in excess of real needs; and that both in war and peace the present system presses the heaviest upon laborers, hence the reason of the rally of so many to the movement the purpose of which is "War upon War."

COMPIEGNE, FRANCE, November 10, 1903.

The Bloch Museum at Lucerne.

BY JOSIAH W. LEEDS.

The remarks of Lucia Ames Mead at the recent Peace Congress at Rouen, as reported in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, relative to the large display of war material as compared with the exhibit expository of peace at the Bloch Museum, Lucerne, appear to have been quite justified, if one may judge from the contents of the catalogue of said display. I am indebted to the director, T. Zimmermann, for a copy which, though dated the present year, he says is not complete, "various acquisitions having been made since" it was compiled.

The first division, devoted to "Arms," gives a varied historic line of helmets, cuirasses, sabres, swords, bayonets, spears, lances, arrows, firearms, cannon, ammunition, and so on. Nine divisions of "War Operations and Strategy" leave little to be desired in the panoramic view, from the old Assyrian, Grecian and Roman times, down through the Middle Ages and the intricate campaigns of the Thirty-Years' War, to the great Napoleonic wars and the fierce struggle of the last generation, between France and Germany, even to the Transvaal wars at the ending of the nineteenth century.

At page 44 of the catalogue, detailed on that one page of the whole eighty-seven, we have the exhibit of peace, or such as it was several months ago. The titles are soon given: a table descriptive of the findings of the Hague Conference for International Arbitration; a table of the Convention of Geneva of 1864; four tables which recite the clauses prohibitory of the use of poisoned, explosive and dum-dum bullets, and against throwing shot or explosives from balloons; three other tables, miscellaneous subjects; eight portraits of persons prominently interested in peace; five pictures or paintings, including two large canvasses, "Country Scene in Peace" and "Country Scene in War."

Taking up war again, the next division furnishes the History of a Fortress, as shown in many drawings and reliefs, after Viollet le Duc. Next appears the physiological effects of destructive weapons, and therewith the ambulance service. Then we have, *in extenso*, illustrations of uniforms, followed by transport equipments, tool wagons, field smithy, utensil and provision wagons, gun carriages, observation and electric devices, etc. The last division, twenty pages, is taken up with the marine.

While it is probable that, as Lucia A. Mead observes, "in its present condition the Museum is not fully meeting the wishes of its founder," yet from the very nature of the case the war display, in the main, is such as must appeal much the most strikingly to the eye. The war-battered veteran, equally with the young aspirant for a military Cross of honor, will find here a great mass of interesting study, easily absorbed by "the seeing of the

eye"; the lover of peace, whether it be the socialist contender against burdensome war armaments, or the publicist and parliamentarian, anxious to find economic relief from the insatiate demands of the Twin Daughters of the Horse-Leech, ever crying, "Give! Give!"; or the plain disciple of the Lord, the Prince of Peace, who recognizes above all the sinfulness of the condition of warring Christendom,—all these, after the feeling of a sinking of heart at the fearful array of fighting material, will need, in turning to the data of the better, God-honoring way, to give attention to the study of plain charts and of the presumably large collection of anti-war pamphlets and books prospectively to have place in this Museum. For the rest, the exquisite, local beauties of God's creation, as seen from the Rigi and Pilatus, and along the Lake of the Four Cantons, would seem to utter eloquent protest against the barbarism and desolations of war.

"The Dreary Sound of that Old Tin Can."

The following taken from the *London Outlook* shows, along with innumerable similar occurrences, that in the wake of war, however magnificent may be its exterior displays, there always follow untold horrors and miseries and absolute "blank despair." If people could only be brought to realize these, military campaigns would be proscribed as the most monstrous and inhuman of men's doings. This picture which the Colonel saw was really the significant thing:

"At Spandau I was present at a great review when fifty thousand men — horse, foot and artillery — paraded before the emperor. It was superb; the shoals of bayonets, the drifting clouds of cavalry, the masses of infantry, the drums and trumpets — one said involuntarily, 'What a glorious thing is war!'

"My friend, Colonel von H—— said nothing. As we drove home he said, 'Yes, war is a glorious thing, no doubt. Yet, would you believe me, it haunts my pillow less than an insignificant picture which my memory has labeled "Three Nights after Spichenen."'

"I was escorting four important prisoners, — no matter who they were, — and we stopped for the night at a deserted wineshop near the entrance to a deserted hamlet. Our army held all the roads.

"It was a horrible hole of a tavern. The place had been cleaned out, but we tore up some boards and made a fire, and behind a door of an inner room we found a dozen bottles of wine packed in a basket with a ham by some provident soul, and forgotten through hurry or fear.

"We found a frying-pan, and at the sight of it the Frenchmen — all nobles, mind you — cracked jokes and grew quite cheerful. One of the four was a prince; he cut up the ham and showed us how to grease the pan. The Uhlans, their wet coats steaming in the warmth of the room, looked on laughing, yet they would have brained him without "by your leave" had he made three steps toward the door. And that is a thing which strikes one on looking back at a campaign.

"As the prince was placing the pan on the fire I heard a sound from the road outside, a sound as if a tin can were being kicked along by some one walking